sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

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> If the Americans were the ones buying guhang [a native drink] the cost was usually one peso because they not only had money but they could not understand the Filipinos selling the guhang. They also did not have loose change so even if the price was ten centavos a pongpong [a bamboo container] the Americans would pay one peso.

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Until American troops were briefly stationed in Siaton during the last war, no comparably large group of Americans had lived in this locality for any length of time.

The Fall of the Negros Republic

When Bohol was occupied by American troops in March, 1900, the formal conquest of the Visayas was completed. Aguinaldo was finally captured and in April, 1901, swore allegiance to the United States. The Negros Republic's affairs were never in good shape. The peace and order situation in the island was precarious. Factionalism and local quarrels made the operation of an elaborate and awkward governmental structure difficult. Inexperience of the officials resulted in inefficiency and a rapid loss of confidence of the people. The leaders of Negros Oriental complained they were not receiving a fair share of the revenue of the Republic. The Republic's limited funds were largely spent on salaries, so few improvements were made in the Island.

William H. Taft had been appointed Civil Governor of the Philippines in July, 1901. To popularize the establishment of municipal governments he took an extended trip through the Visayas and Mindanao, visiting both

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435
People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [42]

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the manangueze is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the manangueze received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

Camotes

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The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

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Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

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Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

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Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

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Coconuts

In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Caticugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64] The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65] This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at $567.

[435]

each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are telltale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

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[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

used to make charcoal for the woman's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to guhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and guhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) ~~of~~ the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making gubang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 257

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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[824]

In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

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cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce. 244

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big." [824]

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow. 244 222 244

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in 435

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

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Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

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Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

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Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

[824]

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several ganitas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p.432, Cat. 231 -- Analyst]

411 [435]

For the hunt, iron spear points (ohas or silab) are purchased in the poblacion for about one dollar and fifty cents. The points are eleven to twelve inches long and about two to three inches wide. They are attached to wooden handles (tugdanan) four or five feet long. The spear point is fixed to the handle with rattan wrapping; the base of the point has a sharp prong that is driven into the handle's top. Sometimes brass tubing (pekit) is put around the handle where the spear point is attached; a sharp iron point (alimayo) may be fixed to the handle's base. Usually a scabbard (sakob) is made to cover the point when the spear (bankay) is stored; two thin pieces of wood, the general shape of the point, are bound together with rattan or small strips of tin. (See Plate XXXII.)[1]

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Frequently wild pigs are hunted by groups of three to five men. Some like to hunt alone; this means, normally, that there is no sharing of the kill. The dogs go ahead of the hunters, sniffing the ground until the scent of a wild pig is discovered. Then they run after the pig wildly barking. The hunters trot behind the dogs, yelling words of encouragement. If the hunters fail to shout constantly, or stay close enough to the dogs so their voices can be heard, the dogs become discouraged and abandon the chase. Such a chase may continue for several hours until a pig is cornered and killed or the scent lost.

1 [See p. 509, Cat 411 & 116 -- Analysis]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and lavalava are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Cateugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

222

Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Cateugan were observed eating these mosses.

METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

226 [262] [436] [433]

A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (asag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

(see Plate XXXV, Detail A)[1] the catch is scooped out of this section. 227

Ta-an nets have the advantage of not having to be watched constantly; they are set up by men. Ta-an catches are for family consumption. One group that netted Hipon with a tangkop near the Siaton River mouth caught two cavans in an afternoon. Large catches usually are made near the mouth or just off the mouth of the river, with bigger nets; Hipon sell in the marketplace for about five dollars per five-gallon can. The owner of a big net receives one-half of the catch, and his assistants divide the remainder equally. Young girls or women vendors from Caticugan and other barrios go to the mouth of the rivers during Hipon runs to sell or barter boiled bananas and other foods. 226 [435] [265]

The Asag and Balantak River Fish Traps

Two common types of fish traps used in Siaton River are the balantak and the larger asag. Small bobo fish traps may be placed in the river but this type of trap usually is put in the sea. The largest asag seen, at Sitio Daliw (north of Casala-an), was 12 feet long. (See Plate XXXVI.) This asag, owned by one family, had stone retaining walls three to four feet high, several feet thick, and about 25 feet long. The walls ordinarily last until rainy season when they are washed away by the flooded river. Fish smaller than four or five inches could have passed 227

2[See p. 546, cat. 227 – Analyst]

1[this plate (p. 544) is missing – Analyst]

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

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Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXII

Cost Breakdown of Three Bonsods

Materials and Labor	Malabuhan (Dollars)		Sumalaring (Dollars)		Baybay (Dollars)	
	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost	Quantity	Cost
Bamboo (65-70 foot poles)	1,000	225	750	150	800	170
Rattan (Balaba)[42]	7,000	49	6,000	48	6,000	51
Rattan (Impaque)	2,500	12	1,800	9	2,000	10
Iron anchor	4	50	-	-	-	-
Rope	1,500[43]	37	960	37	13[44]	32
Wire (Size No. 8)	128[45]	40	11	4	-	-
Banca (35 feet)	1	90	-	-	-	-
Fish net	1[46]	520	1[47]	104	-	-
Coconut trunks	-	-	4	14	-	-
Labor costs	(48)	118	(49)	120		70
Workers ladlad and food	(50)	55	(50)	134	(50)	79
Municipal tax	(51)	50	(51)	50	(52)	35
Internal revenue tax		5		5		5
Totals		$1,261		$675		$452

[42]Balaba rattan is divided equally into four equal parts longitudinally. The Bureau of Forestry considers 1,000 pieces of balaba equal to about 220 pounds.

[43]In feet.

[44]Thirteen rools that vary in length; approximately 240 feet.

[45]Pounds.

[46]Twine net.

[47]Abaca net is cheaper than twine.

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distributes these expenses over the years these two bonsods would be less expensive than indicated.[53] 228

Table XXXIII[1] presents figures from Umali's study pertaining to the construction of a Quinavite fish corral in Ragay Gulf, Luzon. They are included for comparison with the figures in Table XXXII. 435

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[48]The labor costs were: making bamboo strips for lag-i, $10; sharpening and cutting slits in bamboo poles, $21; splitting rattan, $7; weaving lag-i, $35; making bamboo raft, $5; and construction of bonsod, $40.

[49]The owner employed eleven men for about 1 month; this figure does not include the cost of food served to the men while employed.

[50]Cost of just the ladlad feast for Malabuhan was $45, for Sumalaring, $20, and Baybay $20.

[51]First class zone.

[52]Second class zone. The tax on the depth was not obtained.

[53]It is difficult to obtain correct figures on the actual cost of building a bonsod because of practices of some bonsod operators. For example, purchases made outside the municipality are taxed by the Siaton government. One bonsod owner listed in his expense book "for the inspectors" that he had purchased 3,000 pieces of rattan (in Tolong municipality) for $25 instead of the actual 6,000 pieces that cost $51. While rope was purchased from the Chinese stores in Dumaguete, some bonsod owners listed the rope as "bought from various persons" in Siaton in order to eliminate the tax. Under such circumstances, while the owners know exactly how much money they have spent, obtaining accurate information is difficult. The persons who gave the information in Table XXXII said they were giving me the "real figures."

1[See p. 585, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXIII

Cost of Building a Quinavite Fish Corral[54]
Ragay Gulf, Luzon - 1938

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Material and Labor	Quantity	Cost (Dollars)
Materials		
Palma brava (bahe) @ 30¢ each	500	150
Bamboos (bolo or boho) @ $10 per 1,000	2,000	20
Rattan @ $1.50 per 1,000	20,000	30
Bamboo for raft (balsa) and bridge (vela) of the tawanik variety @ $6 per 100	200	12
Cotton (twine) net (siguin)	1	150
Banca		
Cost of splitting 2,000 bolo @ $10 per 1,000		20
Cost of weaving mattings		
Body of 14 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each[55]	14	40.60
Leader of 20 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each	20	58
Labor (contract)		
First maestro [foreman ?]		30
Second maestro		25
Seven men at $7.50 each		52.50
Total Cost		$713.10

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Comparing the costs of the Quinavite of Ragay ulf and the bonsod of Malabuhan, the materials for the rmer cost $212, for the latter $431. The cost of the ine net and boat (banca) were $610 in Malabuhan and

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[54]Umali, op. cit., p. 189. The date the fish corral s built is not given; the article was published in 1938.

[55]Each bantasan was about 69 feet long.

₱275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Catiougan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Catiougan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA.
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When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

228 472 [131] [435]

Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

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Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p.644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with guhang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblacions than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (30 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars. The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)[1] costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboanguita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhan had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for $125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228 [435] 472

Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599).[70] Some said that if a pig were killed 228

[70] Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan population. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patlao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patlao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oracion.

1 [See p. 615 ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balsuka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tanak semina. Unda sam? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

[369] [565]

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

TABLE XXXVIII

COST OF BUILDING THREE BARRIO DWELLINGS, CATICUGAN, 1951

Materials and Labor	House A		House B		House C	
	Amount	Cost ($)	Amount	Cost ($)	Amount	Cost ($)
Bamboo	130 poles	19.50	150 poles	25.50	100 poles	20.00
Nipa shingles	1000	15.00	1200	18.00	800	10.00
House posts	8	10.00	10	12.50	9	13.50
Sawn lumber	-	55.00	-	20.00	-	9.00
Rattan (pieces)	500	1.50	1000	8.50	1000	8.25
Wall materials	(12)	25.00	nipa	1.25	nipa	1.00
Nails	30 lbs	6.25	15 lbs	2.45	9 lbs	1.80
Wire	4 lbs	1.00	11 lbs	3.50	none used	-
Galvanized iron sheets	none used	-	1 sheet	1.25	none used	-
Window frames and shutters	-	-	(13)	5.00	-	-
Labor	(14)	25.10	(15)	10.13	(16)	8.00
Total Cost		$158.35		$99.08		$65.66

[12]The nipa walls were contracted for by the builder and were partially made of wood.
[13]Contracted to a carpenter by builder.
[14]Six carpenters worked for six days; five received fifty cents a day whereas the sixth carpenter was paid sixty-five cents. The owner fed the men two meals a day that he valued at 17-1/2 cents a day for each carpenter. The owner's son also worked with the carpenters.
[15]One carpenter worked for fifteen days for fifty cents a day plus two meals valued at seventeen and a half cents a day; the owner's two sons worked with the carpenter.
[16]Labor costs were palihog expenses: one goat, four dollars; guhang, one dollar and fifty cent; and other foods, two dollars and fifty cents. The palihog group spent three hours raising the house posts and inserting them in the holes.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines, Central Bisayan OA14
p. 667
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given, I estimate the typical Caticugan dwelling costs between fifty and a hundred dollars. Increased costs involve use of such materials as nails, wire, galvanized iron roofing, cement and iron straps for house posts, and lumber.

TABLE XXXIX

Cost of Building a Poblacion Dwelling, Siaton, 1951

Items	Amount	Cost (Dollars)
House posts (including hauling)	12 @ 5.33 each	64.00
Flooring (including hauling)	-	111.90
Walling and framing	-	878.37
Plywood for partitions	-	110.12
Galvanized iron sheeting	96 sheets @ 3.50 each	336.00
Roof nails and washers	-	8.85
Nails	-	56.42
Wire	2.2 pounds	.40
Cement	9 bags @ 2.00 each	18.00
Gravel	120 petroleum cans (5-gallon) @ 5 cents each	6.00
Sand	60 petroleum cans @ 5 cents each	3.00
Iron straps for house posts	30 @ 50 cents each	15.00
Shutters, doors, and windows	-	25.00
Labor	-	400.00
Painting	-	300.00
	Total Cost -	$2,333.06

The barriofolk said a typical bamboo-nípa dwelling lasts from twenty to twenty-five years. If the house posts are bamboo they must be replaced every six or seven years as must a nipa roof. Wooden posts usually last as long as the house.

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Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

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Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

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After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamao, Malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots. Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

Capacity (pounds of clean rice)	Cost (U. S.)
1.5	5¢
2.25	8¢
4.5	10¢
10.0	15¢

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435].

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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796 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*